1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

304 789 made from the bina plant or animal is rubbed, as described in the section on religion. When these incisions heal, a series of short transverse blue lines remains.

SHELTERS AND THEIR FURNITURE

361 THE majority of settlements or villages are located at some distance from the river side. The only exceptions to this rule are those of Teki and Powis Hill, both of which were established on the river bank through the influence of gold prospectors who wished Indian labor in the vicinity of their operations, and Turingbang and Baramita on the upper reaches of the river, where it is not navigable. Other settlements range in distance from the river from half a mile, as in the case of Kariako, to an estimated fifteen miles, as in the case of Huri.

Although defense was possibly the major consideration leading to a secluded location of a village in former times, the requirements of the hunting and agricultural activities of the natives seem to be most important at present. Successful hunting requires a wide range of virgin forest on all sides, a territory in which the hunters are not handicapped by competition from neighboring villagers or passers-by on the river. Furthermore, it is the practice to locate [312] cassava fields on hills or slopes in order to facilitate drainage of the soil. Suitable facilities for natural drainage are most often found at some distance from the river.

The village is always located on or near the banks of a creek which provides the water used by the people. Access to the river is afforded by trails and paths through the jungle. (See section on the settlement of Sawari.)

● 342 361 In so far as a Carib orients his house at all, he endeavors to place it so that the long axis runs north and south, an arrangement which prevents the sunlight from entering the gable ends. This type of orientation, while frequent, is not universal, and if the house happens to be protected by the shade of trees, little attention is given to the matter. Other considerations affecting the choice of the site are privacy combined with ready accessibility to neighbors, convenience to water supply, and nearness to the field. Change of residence is not an uncommon thing in this region, due to such causes as the necessity of locating new fields

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

and hunting grounds, or personal and social disagreements, so that the building of a house is looked upon as a chore which must be repeated several times during one's career. A man, if one may judge by the histories of the old men whom I knew, may build from three to a dozen houses during his lifetime.

Before discussing the permanent residences which are located in settlements or villages, it may be well to mention the types of temporary shelter in the building of which the Carib woodsmen are so adept. As stated in our discussion of hunting, a man is sometimes away from home for several days, engaged in the chase. In other cases long trips overland or by river to neighboring settlements or trading posts necessitate the passing of nights in the jungle. Just as every man is a competent woodsman, knowing the practical uses to which any of the jungle plants can be put and the peculiarities of the animals which furnish so large a part of his food supply, so he is also well acquainted, by the time he reaches man's status, with many ingenious methods of making himself comfortable in any conditions which he may have to face. Other aspects of woodsmanship will be described in our chapter on transportation and woodcraft. But at this point we may say that a man traveling in the jungle always carries at least two accessories, his cutlass and his hammock. With these he can make himself reasonably comfortable for a night almost anywhere. The cutlass is carried in the hand, and the hammock is rolled into a small ball which is suspended down the back by a piece of bush rope around the neck, or is packed into a corner of the walisha (carrying basket).

If the night gives promise of being clear, or if the traveler is in a great hurry, the only arrangements made for sleeping are the cutting of two poles with sharpened ends, which are forced into the ground at a distance of perhaps six feet from each other. To these poles the hammock ropes are attached. The poles themselves lean at obtuse angles away from each other, the better to withstand the strain of the hammock. This method of passing the night is designated in pidgin English as "sleep in bush corner."

Rain, however, is the constant visitant of all travelers in the bush, and it is exceedingly difficult to say with certainty that a sky which at evening is studded with stars will not be pouring water long before morning. Consequently, whenever practical, some provision is made for shelter from rain. The simplest form of

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

rain shelter is made merely by laying two poles against the trunk of a tree and spreading the leaves of the wild plantain or of dalli-banna[1] over them. Under the small shelter thus made a man may crouch protected from the rain, but will be unable to sling his hammock. Another type of temporary rain shelter is made from the plaited leaf of the manicol palm, as figured in Roth.[2]

More commodious temporary shelters, called banabs by the creoles and wawnitopo (sleeping thing) by the Caribs, take several forms. All of them consist of a framework of upright poles and horizontal crosspieces, and a thatch or roofing of some kind of broad leaves. The framework serves the double purpose of supporting the hammock of the occupant and supporting the roof over his head. The framework is tied together with bush rope.[3]

Figure 3 shows different types of temporary shelter. The triangular flat-roofed type (Type A) of wawnitopo consists of three uprights, any or all of which may, if convenient, be the trunks of standing trees or saplings. At a height of about four to five feet from the ground, the uprights are connected by three horizontal tie-pieces, slender poles cut from young saplings. Across the triangle thus formed several horizontal tie-beams are laid parallel to its base. Upon these beams are laid the broad fresh leaves which have been gathered for the thatch, and from the uprights the hammock is slung. Usually the sleeper's feet are directed toward the apex of the triangle which forms the roof, and his head toward the base.

A triangular shelter with a gable roof I have called Type B. The gable end is built up by a series of cross pieces laid parallel to each other upon the ends of the longitudinal stringers which support the thatch of the roof.

Rectangular shelters with gable ends are of two types. In the first type the gables are built in the same way as that described for the triangular gable-ended shelter. In the second type (Type C) the ridge pole is supported at either end in the forked top of an upright pole. The four corner uprights are supported by braces (see illustration), while at their tops they are bound together by horizontal poles which form four sides of a rectangular

[1] *Geonoma baculifera.*
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Plate 55.
[3] Bush rope is the creole term for any unprepared vegetable material which may be used as twine or rope. A variety of vines of several sizes abounds in the bush, as well as the barks of several trees which may be stripped into strips. Bush rope is therefore always available in the jungle, although represented by a number of botanical species and genera.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

342 frame. To support the roof, a series of parallel rafter poles extends
335 from the ridge pole on each side to the longitudinal runners. These

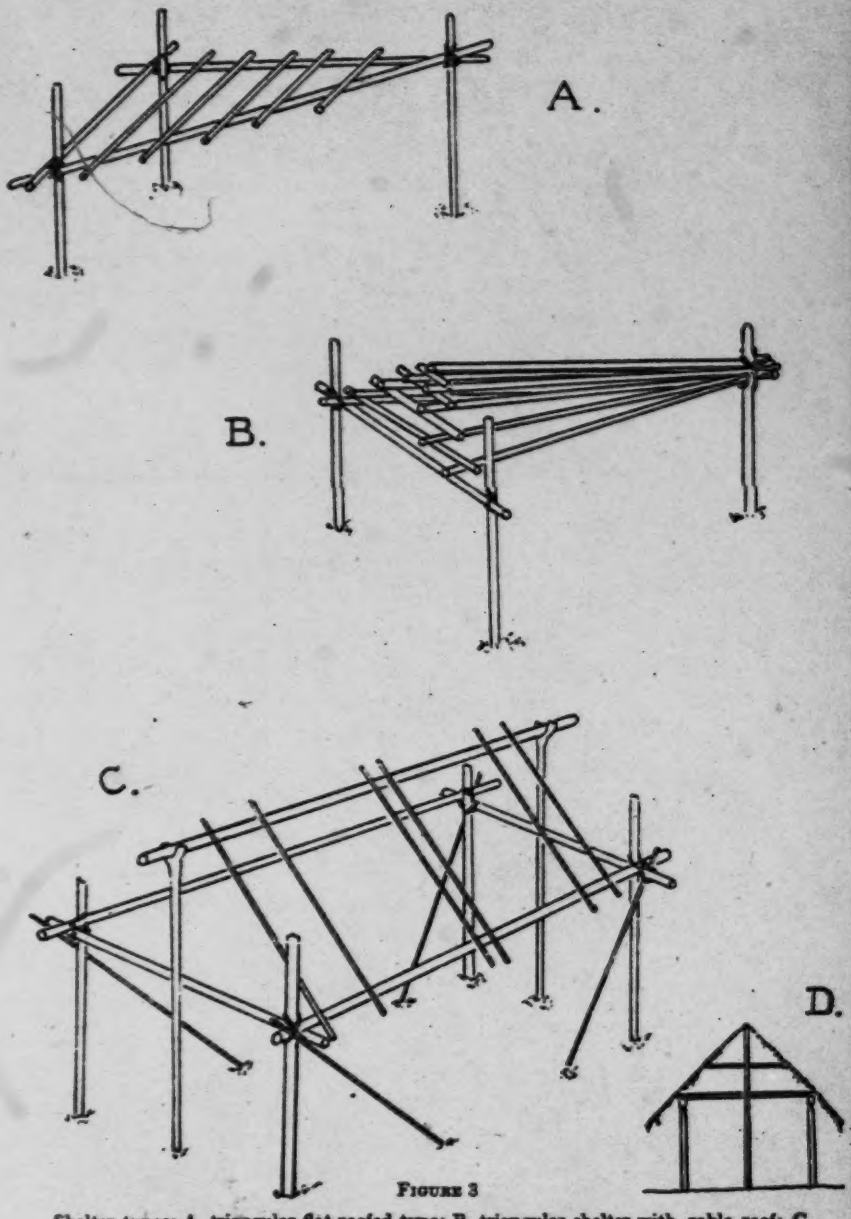

FIGURE 3

Shelter types: A, triangular flat-roofed type; B, triangular shelter with gable roof; C, rectangular shelter with gable end, ridge-pole supported on two forked sticks; D, Noss'-roto, or steep-pitched, high-roofed type of house with high cross-struts.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

484 342 rafters are in some cases further strengthened by longitudinal stringers on the under side.

342 335 Let us now turn to an examination of the permanent dwellings of the Caribs. The standard type of dwelling throughout the area from the head to the mouth of the river is a gabled-roofed thatched house without walls. Two varieties of this type occur, having four and six upright supports respectively. These I have termed the four (apototo) and six-pillar (miemboto) types.[1] The house, or owto, is built as follows. After a level site for the dwelling has been selected with due regard for privacy and convenience, the position of the pillars (wakapu) is determined by measuring out the ground plan with a pole on which the proper dimensions or fractions have been marked. The size of the house depends upon the number of persons living in it, the wealth of the owner, the amount of assistance he will have in building it, and the availability of materials in suitable quantities. For instance, in a region where roofing materials must be carried long distances, smaller houses will be built than where they are readily at hand. The holes to receive the pillars are started with a hoe and enlarged with a digging stick. When the hole has reached a depth of about six inches, the pillar, the inferior end of which has been sharpened to a point with the cutlass or axe, is introduced and "tomped" into place by repeatedly lifting it with the two hands and forcing it into the ground until it rests solidly with about a foot of its length below the surface of the ground. The earth is then filled around the pillar in the upper part of the hole and well stamped into place. Due care is taken that the upper ends of the pillars shall be of approximately equal height above the surface of the ground. The height of the pillars varies with the house, but averages between seven and eight feet. When a pillar is prepared, the bark is first removed from a log of wood of suitable length, the inferior end is sharpened as already mentioned, and the top flanged or whittled into a broad fork to receive the stringer or tie-beam (Plate 13, *b*). When the pillars are in place, the runners (apopono), one of which connects the tops of the pillars along each side of the house, are put in position. Usually they are not tied to the pillars but rely upon the flanges in the pillar tops and the weight from above to keep them in position. Next the tie-beams (tchurapa), which

[1] At Pini and Turingbang settlements I found the houses of the settlements to be exclusively temporary shelters of the C type. The inhabitants said that the settlements had not been established sufficiently long to allow for the erection of permanent dwellings.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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transversely connect each pair of pillars, are laid in place with their ends lying on top of the runners, to which they are sometimes tied with bush rope. Then the ridge pole supports (owto returu) are placed in position. These supports are long poles of lesser diameter than the pillars; their inferior ends are sharpened to a point and forced into the ground to a depth of about a foot; their superior ends are provided with natural forks, in which the ridgepole rests; one ridge pole support is set in line with and midway between each pair of pillars and is tied with bush rope to approximately the middle of the tie-beam which connects the two pillars in question. Thus a four-pillar house has two ridge pole supports, a six pillar house three (Plate 14, *a*). The ridge pole (de'atu-lu tano) is next placed in the forks of the supports and tied to them with bush rope. The stage is now set for building the framework of the roof (roof: dioneru). First the wall-plates (asariaponi) are placed in position, resting on the ends of the tie-beams and firmly tied to the ends of these beams; there are two wall-plates, one for each side of the house, running longitudinally and connecting the ends of the several tie-beams. The wall-plates, as well as the ridge pole, are carried two or three feet beyond the pillars at each end of the house, in order to provide a foundation for the overhang of the roof. The wall-plates provide the lateral support for the rafters, whose medial support is the ridge pole. The rafters (iararu), as shown in the photographs, are slender poles of sufficient length to provide the foundation for wide eaves at the sides of the house, that is, from the ridge pole to within two or three feet from the ground. About three inches from the end of the rafter which lies over the ridge pole, a notch is cut to a depth of approximately one half the diameter of the rafter. When in position the ridge pole is received into this notch (Plate 15, *a*). The rafters are tied to the ridge pole in pairs, one on either side with the ends of each pair projecting over the ridge pole side by side. Each rafter is firmly tied to the wall-plate at the point where it crosses. When the rafters have been secured, the roof-binder, a slender pole equal in length to the ridge pole, is placed in position longitudinally above the ridge pole; the roof binder lies in the forks made by paired ends of the rafters as they project beyond the ridge pole (Plate 14, *b*). This arrangement provides extra stability for the ridge of the roof.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

341 335 Finally, the medial runner (otondano) is placed in position. This is a pole which runs the full length of the house in the median line and is firmly tied to each of the points where a tie-beam crosses a ridge pole support (Plate 14, *a*). When the house is completed, sticks (sura) are laid from the medial runner to the lateral runners under the eaves, thus making a sort of rack or loft on which articles can be stored.

Before describing the methods of thatching roofs, it may be well to consider several variants of the above method of making house frames. In one type of house the roof frame is held in position without the use of ridge pole supports. Stability is given at intervals by the use of transverse struts connecting the two members of a given set of rafters at a distance of about two feet below the ridge pole. Additional stability is afforded by the use of diagonal struts, tied to the under sides of the rafters. In building a roof of this kind, temporary ridge pole supports are used while the rafters, roof binder, and struts are secured in position (Plate 16, *b*).

The small four-pillar house is sometimes built without the use of wall-plates. In this type of construction it will be noted that the rafters rest directly upon the longitudinal runners, which in turn rest upon the transverse tie-beams. (In the standard design the tie-beams rest upon the runners.)

342 824 A number of different species of palm leaves are used for thatching the roofs of the houses. These include truli (*Manicaria saccifera*), ite (*Mauritia flexuosa*), dallibanna (*Geonoma baculifera*), kokerite (*Maximilliana regia*), manicol (*Euterpe edulis*), tura (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), and ballidanna (unidentified). These materials do not occur in equal quantities throughout the area, so that one village may be thatched with one combination, another with a different material. Inasmuch as Roth has described with great preciseness the sundry details regarding the making of the different types of thatches,[1] I shall content myself with a general description and the mention of a few points not covered by him.

All types of thatch are attached to the rafters with the help of stringers. These are frequently made of konapuri wood (a small tree which somewhat resembles kokerite in appearance). The stringers are tied to the rafters in a number of ways, as figured by Roth, by a continuous piece of nibi which runs the entire length

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, pp. 265–270.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

342 824 of the stringer. I also observed an additional method of tying stringers which differs slightly from those shown by Roth. The roof of a Carib house is covered with successively overlapping courses of thatch, each course of which is attached, as has been said, to a stringer which is in turn attached to the rafters. Thus, when roofing a house, one begins by laying a course of thatch the whole length of the roof at the eaves. Then another course is laid above so that its ends overlap the preceding course (Plate 16, *a* and *b*).

In the settlement of Sawari the thatch is composed of courses of ballidanna[1] (not to be confused with dallibanna) and manicol leaves. Two courses of manicol are followed by one course of ballidanna, which is followed by two courses of manicol, and so on. Figure 4 presents a sketch illustrating the manner in which the thatch is applied. The ballidanna course is made as follows: the stem (a) is inserted into the blade of the preceding leaf (c) to the left. (The stem of the first leaf of the course is bent back and inserted into its own blade.) Then the blade of the leaf is bent over the stringer (b) and brought down behind so that the blade of the preceding leaf overlaps the blade of the leaf just fixed. The manicol leaf is split lengthwise through the central rib, and one half is reversed so that the spears or subsidiary leaves of the one half cross those of the other half diagonally, as in the illustration (d). No stringer is used with the manicol, as the stiff central ribs of the leaves fulfill the function of stringers. Two courses of manicol are laid down, then one of ballidanna, then two of manicol. The manicol leaves cover the ballidanna leaves, so that as seen from the outside the latter are invisible as part of the thatch.

Occasionally, transverse sticks are attached at intervals directly below the ridge pole and project on either side through the thatch, serving to make the latter more stable under the attacks of the wind.

342 Usually a double capping course of manicol leaves covers the ridge of the roof.

Rarely, a large house is supplied with a fall-back or lean-to (asaru) at one end. This is composed of a section of thatched roof attached to a crossbeam (asaru apone) under the gable at one

[1] Dallibanna leaves are more or less rectangular, while ballidanna have the shape of a pointed oval; they are also somewhat smaller than dallibanna and have oilier surfaces.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

end of the house. The thatch is carried in the usual way on rafters (de' atulu akikatopo) which radiate from the asaru apone to a beam resting on two uprights at some distance beyond the end of the house proper. The roof of the fall-back is carried down to the level of the side eaves of the house (about two feet above the ground). Thus this unusual type of house-end successfully closes off one end of the house so that entrance is convenient from the other end only. At the same time a small triangular opening is left under the end of the gable, through which the air, although not the rain, may enter.

FIGURE 4

Thatch (left) and beam-tying (right) used at Sawari. In the drawing to the left, the various parts of the thatch are lettered as follows: the stem of the ballidana leaf (a), is bent over wooden stringer (b), and inserted into punctured blade of preceding leaf (c); manicol leaf split lengthwise through central rib, and subsidiary spears (d) reversed so as to cross each other.

Another variant in house construction is the steep pitched type known as nose'noto. The steep pitch of the roof produces a higher ridge pole and necessitates the use of cross struts to bind together the rafters (Fig. 3, Type D).

House furniture is comparatively simple and may be grouped under the heads of hammocks, benches, and household utensils. Utensils and containers which are found about every house are described elsewhere.

All persons sleep in hammocks, which are slung from sturdier parts of the house frame (tie-beams or runners). No covering is used other than the hammock itself, which is wrapped around the body. A fire is kept burning near each hammock during the night, and it is necessary for someone to get up every two hours or so to

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

a bit of old iron. The spark is struck into dry moss carried with 372
the outfit in a small basketry wallet. Several of my informants 177

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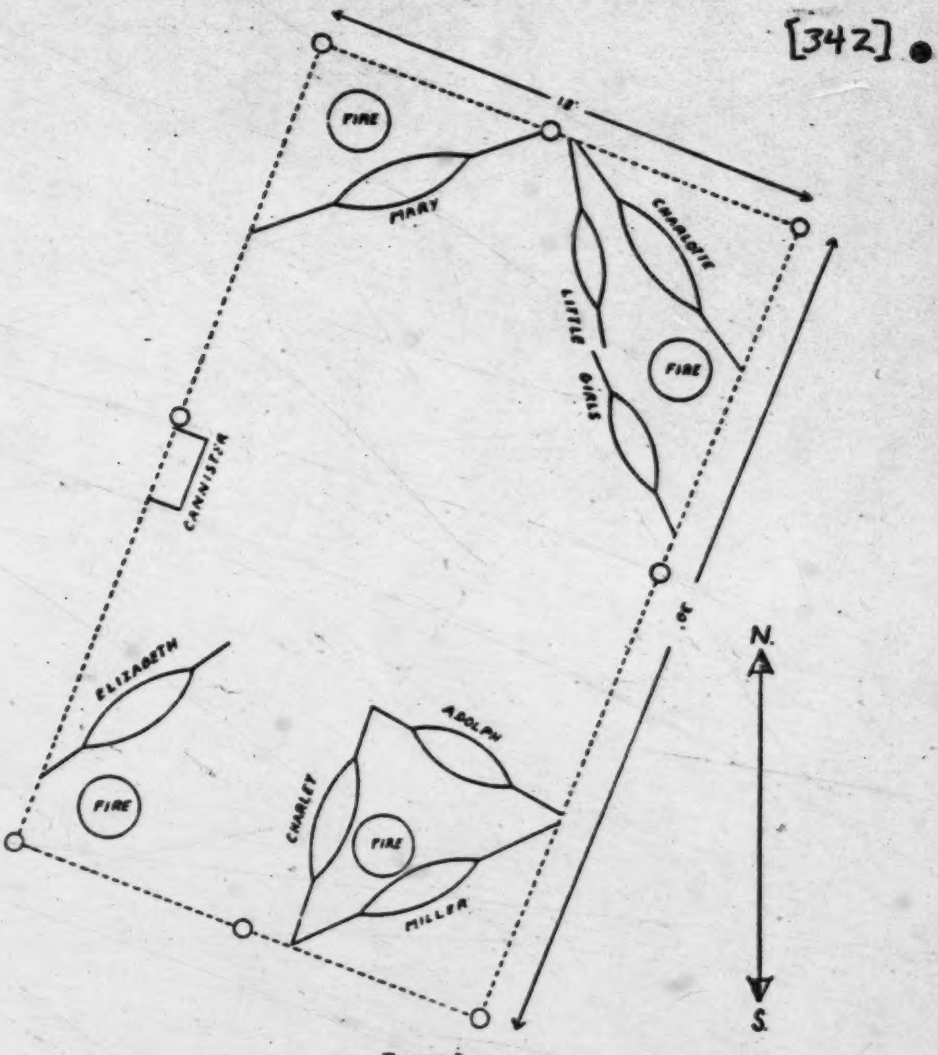

FIGURE 5
Plan of the interior of house at Sawari during the night.

claimed the ability to make fire by rubbing two sticks of wood together, but in none of their repeated trials did they succeed. This method is apparently very seldom used now.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

in use, and two in the process of being cut. Edwin has an agricultural field in the clearing about his house and a newly cleared but unplanted field about a quarter of a mile northeast on the trail to the river. The houses of John Cook's group are set in a large newly planted field, a short distance from a recently abandoned agricultural clearing formerly used by Cook.

The clearing in which John Miller's and associated houses are located is elliptical in plan. Its largest axis, running north and south, measures two hundred and six feet. It is one hundred and thirty-six feet wide at point of greatest breadth. This open space in the jungle, of perhaps an acre, contains thirteen buildings.

In Figure 10 these buildings are designated by number. The normal use of the respective buildings is as follows.

Building	Use	Adult Occupants		Child Occupants (not yet pubescent)	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Residence	Henry	Caroline		Margaret Elsa
2	Storehouse and workroom, formerly Miller's residence				
3	Drink house, shelters trough in which liquor is kept				
4	Residence	Samuel	Elizabeth		Katrina Mary
5	Residence	Miller	Mary Elizabeth Charlotte	Adolphus Charlie	Julia Christina Baby girl
6	Partly completed residence being built by Henry for Caroline				
7	Residence	Columbus			Susan
8	Residence	Joseph	Cecelia		Edna
9	Drink house				
10	Residence	David	Christina	Frederick	
11	Residence	Joseph			
12	Unoccupied				
13	Residence		Margaret		

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 Edwin's clearing is shown in Figure 11. It embraces three buildings, which are numbered on the Chart.

162 342 Adjoining Edwin's clearing to the north and northeast lie his fields. The area about his house, which is clear and unplanted, is roughly elliptical in shape and measures one hundred and thirty feet by ninety-five feet.

EDWIN'S CLEARING

Building	Use	Adult Occupants Male	Adult Occupants Female	Child Occupants Male	Child Occupants Female
14	Drink house sheltering liquor trough				
15	Small benab used as kitchen and as sleeping quarters for guests				
16	Residence	Edwin	Lulu	boy	girl girl girl

John Cook's is shown in Figure 12. It is the largest single clearing in the settlement, measuring nine hundred and fifty by six hundred and eighty feet. It is entirely planted with cassava and other crops, except for small areas around the seven buildings.

Sawari thus comprises a population of forty-seven individuals, of which twenty-six are adults and twenty-one children. Of the whole group, twenty are males, and twenty-seven females. There are thirteen men and seven boys; fourteen women and thirteen girls.

361 162 To my knowledge, there were in the winter of 1932–33 a total of thirty-three Carib settlements on the Barama (Fig. 1). Of these I visited twenty-seven. According to my estimates, they range in size of population from seven (Waikarabi) to about seventy (Aranka at full strength).

621 **Consanguineal and Affilial Relationships** The settlement of Sawari is typical of the Carib villages on the Barama except for

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

its greater relative isolation and freedom from outside influence. It lies in the region of the upper Barama which is out of the sphere of operations of the gold prospectors who come up the river from the Waini and the coast. On the other hand, it is out of touch with those settlements higher up the Barama, which have been culturally and physically influenced by contact with the residents

JOHN COOK'S CLEARING

Building	Use	Adult Occupants Male	Adult Occupants Female	Child Occupants Male	Child Occupants Female
17	Residence	Henry-Daniel	Mary		girl baby
18	Abandoned residence				
19	Residence	John	Rose	boy boy	
20	Drink house				
21	Store and utility house, former residence				
22	Residence	Daniel	Elsie		
23	Residence	John Cook	Laura	boy	girl

of Venezuela. Because, therefore, Sawari appeared to be relatively "pure" in regard to its culture and the physical type of its residents, it was chosen as the settlement to be most intensively studied.

In this section we are endeavoring to analyze the community life of Sawari as it was from December, 1932, to March, 1933, the period during which it was under my observation. The situation is taken as it stood, with little attempt at historical analysis, because of the paucity of historical material. I shall simply endeavor to illumine the functioning of social life in this village as a basis for

1z Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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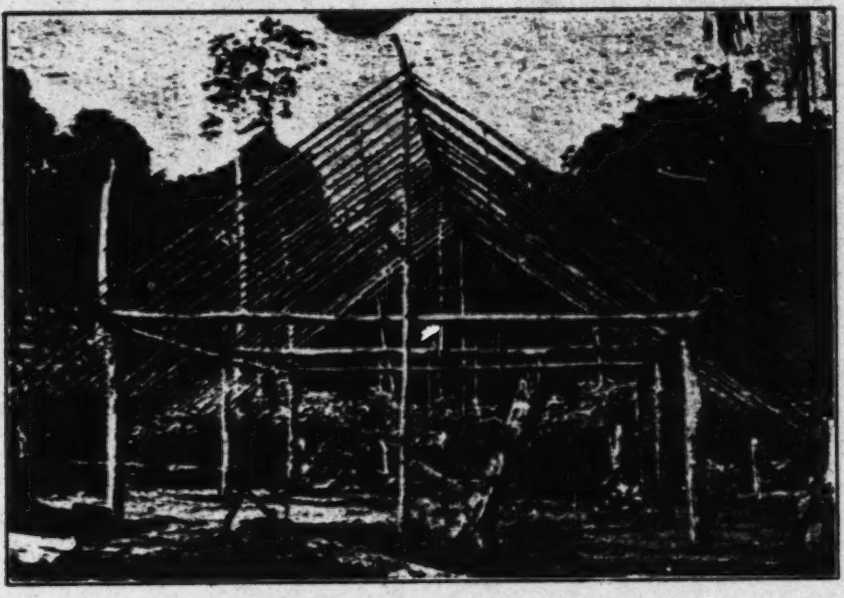
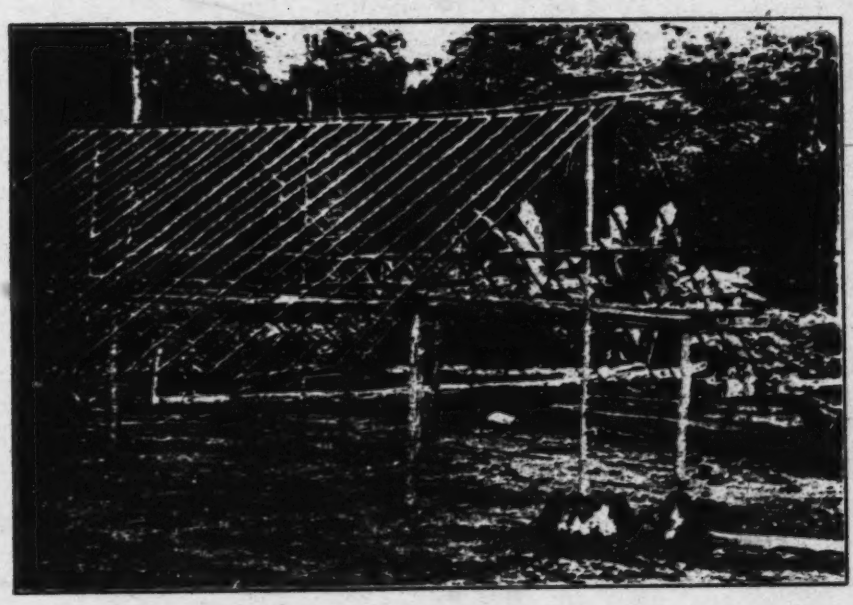


a, Frame of a six-piller house.



b, Frame of a six-piller house.

[End plate 14]

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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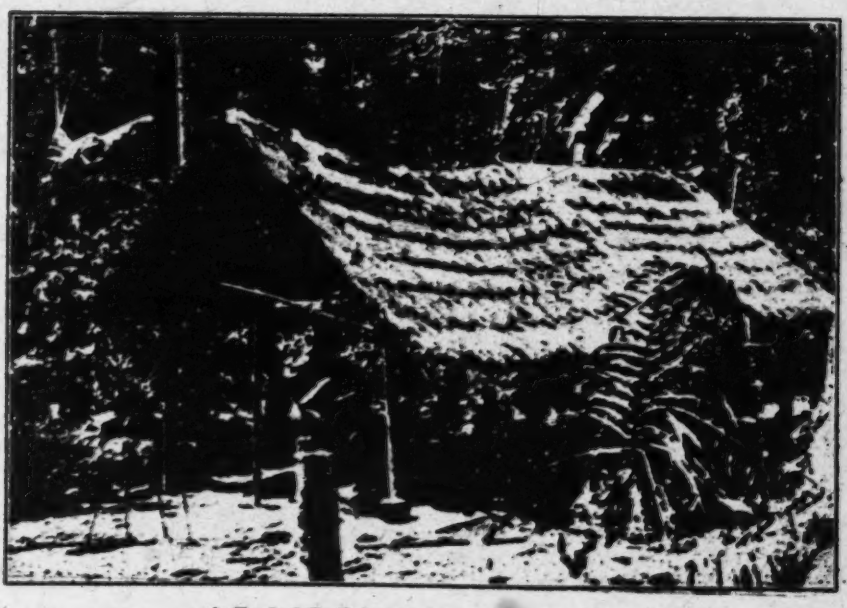
a, Details of house construction. Note notches in rafter ends to accommodate ridge-pole.



b, Typical Carib house, four-pillar construction.

[End plate 15]

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a, House in process of roofing. Note scaffolding of poles near ground to support roofer. This house is built without supports for the ridge-pole.

b, Same as a.

J. Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

[End plate 16]

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a, Typical Carib house, six-pillar construction.

b, Side view of a large six-pillar house, belonging to the headman of Sawari.

[End plate 17]

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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a, Ordinary bench or stool made from one piece of wood and provided with four "feet."

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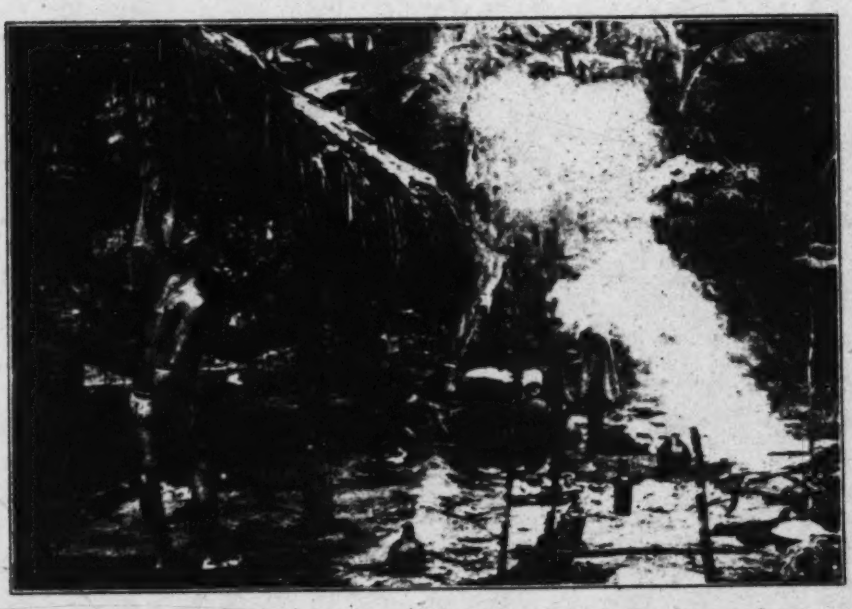

b, Early morning scene in a Carib household. Note tripodal drying rack over fire at right.

[End plate 18]

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(1932-1971) Barama River

V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

*179 592 Although the resources for subsistence and the organization involved in exploiting them have changed, the household has remained the primary cooperative economic unit among the Upper Barama River [423] Carib population. There is no land tenure, no accumulation of capital [471] in any form, and no inheritance of any consequence. Thus, household [428] composition and the relationships among households have conformed to the immediate situations affecting the problem of subsistence.

Subsistence in the Rain Forest

175 592 For the 1932-33 period, Gillin reports that a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. [737] These children include their own and ones that have been adopted. A relative from the older generation might be absorbed as a dependent. [586] Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members [968] joining existing households or forming new households with available [585] partners. There seems to have been universal marriage for everyone of reproductive age, making the household coterminous with the family (1936:80).

175 342 Households were settled in their cultivated fields. A house structure was commonly a pole frame covered with a roof thatched from various palm leaves. Dimensions varied from six to over thirty feet

*177 centralized to make use of the government programs and services
361 available at the Air Strip as well as maintain an advantageous subsistence relationship to the rain forest. From the preliminary data available on the resettlement around Baramita Air Strip, a dual pattern of residence is evident only in respect to those people who have moved in from the more remote settlements. To some extent, this pattern reflects the several months required to develop a productive farm in a new location while relying on an established farm. As yet, permanent residents of the Air Strip and the two satellite settlements of Aranka and Baramita have not cut fields in the more remote areas. The further development of a pattern of dual residence will depend on persistence in the extent and nature of regional networks of exchange at Baramita Air Strip.

361 At the present time, the aggregation of people at the Air Strip plus those in the satellite settlements have put a burden on the
[224] local resources in the immediate area. With regard to hunting and
[222] gathering, greater effort is given for meager results around the Air
[484] Strip so that longer trips must be made. Also, the higher, dry land
361 suitable for an air strip does not provide a reliable water source
312 during the dry seasons. People must dig in the dry stream beds and at times have temporarily moved and camped out on the banks of the
361 Barama River until rain came again. House structures continue to be
342 located inside cultivated fields, and large tracts of land have been opened up around the air strip.

241 A survey completed in late spring 1971 revealed that 140 acres of
311 bush had been cut for farms around the air strip. To avoid disputes,
*177

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but [851] through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about [592] freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these 175 476 593 605 [591] kinsmen tended to settle near each other.